7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 :E1 Lebanon ME1

The table in the upper part of the *sufa'ad* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shāʿir* sang many verses in sonorous Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Laya, whose plot, though set among Bedouin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the people' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dance during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Feghali (1925, pp. 296–97) writes in some detail of what he calls a mock battle, of a verbal sort, which takes place in Marounite mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1935, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.* p. 65). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese see no reason to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the inexpressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of either heartlessness or "deepness." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional solo woman's dance is some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

1 - [A newly married couple of the village -- Analyst]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

592 if they must live together. So you see, if they *all* lived together in one house, it would be a terrible thing." Later, it appeared that the two technically extended families in the village were looked upon as temporary arrangements. As a residence unit, then, the extended family is absent from Munşif in the theory of the villagers themselves, and it is very exceptional in practice.

596 This does not mean, however, that we can dismiss the possibility of the power of extended families *as social units* regardless of residence. In fact, considering the violent stresses and strains which the common residence of in-laws is believed to cause, it is reasonable to suppose that an extended family living in separate conjugal groups might be a *stronger* social unit than an extended family living under one roof. As a matter of fact, by way of comparison, among the sedentary Bedouin living around Aleppo, several generations of one family never live together under one roof (Daghestani, 1932, p. 188), yet it is safe to assume that among these people strong extended families as social units are the rule.

BROTHERS

593 There are, indeed, some indications at Munşif of in-group mechanisms extending beyond the conjugal family, but not, in this particular context, inclusive of the minimal lineage. These are all cases of the close relationship between adult brothers, most of whose fathers are dead or so old that they have made over their property to their sons. Note has already been made of the two pairs of brothers who live together as pairs in the summer, but live separately in the winter. In addition, there are three pairs of brothers each of which lives under one roof. These are listed as six independent households in Table 1 because they are so regarded by the villagers. In all cases the shared houses have been partitioned down the middle inside, and thus the families live independently of each other. We thus have five pairs of a total of ten conjugal families, each pair of which shares, in one way or another, a single house. In every case, these situations have arisen because the brothers have not yet "divided their inheritance," as the villagers say. 423 Inheritance patterns will be discussed later; here it is enough to point out that inheritance is equal among brothers. Ideally, one brother—often the youngest—gets the family house, with consequent adjustments in the settlement of the rest of the property. The final settlement is often delayed several years—but never permanently—with results that have just been discussed (see Tannous, 1942, pp. 232–34 for a discussion of the solidarity of close kin).

593 There are several more cases of brothers who own and occupy adjoining 613 houses, or houses very close to each other. This is considered a "nice" arrangement, 621 but it is often impossible, and there are many exceptions. Projected over many generations, however, this ideal has resulted in the tendency for the houses of maximal lineage mates to have remained clustered together (see map, Fig. 6) after the original division of the village territory among the three sons of the founder.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[page 111 is a figure]

The exceptions, which are relatively recent, are sufficient to have obliterated most minimal lineage clusterings.

It is quite evident that brothers are expected and honor-bound to help each other throughout life, and very frequently they cooperate in business or other enterprises. Many of the remittances from emigrants appear to be based on the brother-brother relationship. The situation may be in part similar to that reported from India by Mandelbaum (1948, p. 137), in which it is now rare for extended families to remain unified after the death of the parents.

If this matrilocality be interpreted as sufficient evidence of the "presence of the extended family" in Munşif, this writer has no objection, but he himself is not entirely convinced. In part, to be sure, the problem is a terminological one, for the common usage is to equate "extended family" with "patriarchal family." The latter can only be rare or, in individual cases, of fairly short duration in a culture like that of Munşif in which, owing to the general lateness of marriage, a man is not likely to become a patriarch over sons and grandchildren until he is rather near death's door. The family organization in Munşif is possibly similar to that of the Chinese *chia* (Fei, 1939, p. 29).

NAMING PATTERNS

Related to the matter of lineages and families is that of personal names. Something has already been said about naming patterns, but more should be mentioned about the names themselves. Particular names do not seem to run in certain patrilines despite the reported ideal of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 13). The names of the men are more conservative and less variable than the names of the women. There were one hundred and eighteen different male names recorded as against one hundred and forty-six different female names. Only eight of the male names (involving nine persons from five different conjugal families) are of recent foreign origin, whereas there are twenty-three female names of this type (involving thirty-one persons from twenty-seven conjugal families). The remainder of the female names are Arabic nouns and adjectives which generally have no religious significance. The most popular are Layla (Night), twelve examples; Munah, seven; Nabiha, Farida, Badr, and Sa'ada, five each. Most of male names are also Arabic nouns or adjectives, but thirteen of them (involving sixty-five persons) are specifically Christian and/or of Greek origin. Nearly ten per cent of all the males in the village are named Jurjis (George). The other most popular male names are Na'im, ten examples; Ilyas (Elijah), Mikhail or Michel, and Fu'ad, nine each; Hanna (John), eight; Ilia (also Elijah), seven; Wadi', six; and Nakhla, five.

In eleven conjugal families the names of the children form some sort of rhyming or alliterative pattern. For example:

[See preceding 3 pages -- Analyst]

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MI:1 Lebanon MI:1

Fa'ad
Fahim
Fawzi
Fuad

or,

Na'im
Na'im
Nabih
Nadi
Nabiha

or this, the most elaborate,

Rafiq
Shafiq
Samir
Munir
'Imad
Ziyad
Marah

Informants said of this, as they said of some other types of behavior, "There is no rule; it is just a custom." For the most part, their attitude seemed to be that it was just a petty notion which some people put into effect. One wonders, however, if it is not significant, at the implicit level, of two important cultural patterns: (1) the fascination with the sound of words, and (2) the concept of siblings as a solid unit rather than merely a collection of individuals who happen to have the same parents.

Teknonymy, a well-recognized item in Arab culture, is used to a considerable extent in the village, particularly by younger people who are referring to or addressing their elders. In such situations a teknonymous appellation is the only alternative to a kinship term (see Part Two).

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The most recent and concise statement of the Arabic kinship system is by Davies (1949). In the paper cited, the author lists and very briefly discusses the systems of kinship terminology used by a Palestinian Christian and a Syrian Muslim. The two systems are essentially the same, though there are a few substantive differences. The system used in Munqif is almost identical with Davies' Palestinian Christian system, there being between them only a few dialectical differences which need not be discussed here. Since this material is so readily available, it is not necessary to reproduce here a complete paradigm of the terminological system. This section will, instead, consist of comments upon some facts and opinions stated by Davies and some original statements as well. The purpose is to elucidate certain problems which study of the Arabic kinship system raises, and, in so doing, to carry forward the discussion of patterns of kinship behavior in Munqif.

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of view, to be difficult inconsistencies. In the discussion which follows, both the "linguistic" and the "functional" approaches (these particular terms are used merely for the sake of convenience in identification) will be used.

Let us look first at certain aspects of the kinship terminology which do not appear to correlate very closely with kinship behavior. Eggan, for whose work this writer has the most profound respect, says that the burden of proof is now on Kroeber's theory of linguistic priority rather than on his own "sociological" approach (Eggan, 1950, p. 295). These Arabic data might give heart to Kroeber and pause to Eggan.

First, the distinctions between all the various types of first cousin, which are carried to the ultimate in precision, are mostly "unnecessary" from the functional point of view. In *Mesqid*, only patrilateral parallel cousins appear to be set apart in any way from the other first cousins of ego. This is because they alone are necessarily members of ego's lineage, with all the behavioral implications which this status carries. But even this distinction does not appear to obtrude very much into everyday relationships. In the latter, ego seems to regard *all* his first cousins as people to whom he is bound equally closely by blood and affection. (This is a rather important matter, discussion of which cannot be completed until we come to the subject of marriage regulations.) Why, then, has not some "blanket" term been adopted for all first cousins? The answer is that to introduce such a change would do violence to the kinship system as a "system of semantic logic." All things considered, the most likely procedure would be to extend the term *ibn* (or *bint*) *'amm* (father's brother's son or daughter) to all first cousins, thus eliminating *ibn* (or *bint*) *'ammit* (father's sister's son or daughter), *ibn* (or *bint*) *khaal* (mother's brother's son or daughter), and *ibn* (or *bint*) *khaalit* (mother's sister's son or daughter). This would result, for example, in the son of a *khaal* being called *ibn 'amm*, and this would seem so grotesque and absurd that either the whole idea would be rejected or the term *khaal* itself would be replaced by *'amm*. This last would be very unlikely. To Arabs *khaal is* "mother's brother" and *'amm is* "father's brother." They are two different statuses, conveniently distinguished and impossible to equate. Besides, there are behavioral distinctions. Ego's *'amm* is automatically expected to render his nephew assistance. His *khaal* is not.

Most of these difficulties could be avoided, of course, by the adoption of a foreign term such as the English or French "cousin." But this seems unlikely because the Arabs could not be expected to replace an element of their own beloved language with a foreign word, especially in such an affect-laden area as this.

During many conversations in English, informants made frequent use of the term "cousin," and it soon became obvious that as often as not they were referring to cousins more distant than first cousins. Upon investigation, it was learned that in Arabic *ibn* (or *bint*) *'amm* is regularly used in such cases, even when the relative in question is related to ego through his mother, although a matrilateral kinsman (*?awlād 'amm?*) more distant than first cousin is often not felt

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon, Mt

tion to the special connection which is created between two women when they marry into the same family.

Somewhat similar in function is the reciprocal term *'ašlil* which is used only by men, two or more men who are married to sisters. There is, however, no term *'ašlilat*, which might be applied to the wives of *'ašlil*, as *sitt* is applied to the husbands of *sitāt*. This difference is a significant one. Whereas two *sitāt* become members of the same family by their marriage to brothers, two *'ašlil* do not become members of the same family by marriage to sisters. Rather, these sisters become members of their husbands' families, respectively. (Village phraseology aptly covers these conceptions: a man *takes* his wife *from* her family which *gave* her to him, and, up to a point, to his family.) Nevertheless, as has been pointed out before, the marriage of a woman does not entirely dissolve the bonds which have tied her to her parents, brothers and sisters. It seems to create for her an ambivalent, or double, set of bonds. And so, two men who marry sisters *do* establish between them a sort of vicarious bond, through the close connection between their wives. This bond is symbolized by the reciprocal term *'ašlil*.

Concerning the uses of *sitāt* and *'ašlil* Davies writes, "Marriages such as these create bonds between otherwise unrelated persons and usage of these reciprocal terms usually implies intimacy and affection. Yet the Palestinian informants felt that these terms as often imply strife and tension between such individuals, since problems of distribution of property rights on the death of the spouses' father frequently arise" (1949, p. 251). The opinion of the Palestinian informant would, in the present writer's view, be especially applicable to *sitāt* and their jealousies.

Of more significance than *sitāt* and *'ašlil* is the term *ṣahr*. When the writer first encountered this term, the informants said that it meant only ego's (male or female) sister's husband or daughter's husband. Further investigation revealed that it refers to many other statuses, though very likely it is most often employed in these two senses. Ego can use the term in the following ways:

ṣahri, "my *ṣahr*"	sister's husband daughter's husband granddaughter's husband
ṣahrna, our *ṣahr*	husband of matrilateral and patrilateral first cousin
ṣahrna (vocatively) *ṣahr al-'ayli* ("family *ṣahr*," referentially)	husband of any member of lineage, provided he is ego's age or younger and not himself a member of the lineage
ṣahrna (vocatively) *ṣahr al-dal'a* ("village *ṣahr*," referentially)	husband of any member of the village, provided he is ego's age or younger and assuming that he is an outsider

It is clear that the basic conception behind this term is the identification of any man who takes in marriage a member of ego's lineage, provided he is a cer-

temporary or younger. It is of particular importance, of course, if ego's lineage mate who is so taken is a member of his or her immediate family. *Jede* is used in exactly the same way by men and women. After a woman is married, she continues to use the term as she did before, but she also very often calls people *jede* whom her husband calls *jede*. This last point is another indication of the double family allegiance of a married woman.

Beyond this, we see that the use of the term is extended in two ways. First, it is extended to the male spouses of *all* first cousins. This is another indication of bilateral solidarity to the degree of first cousin but not beyond it, a striking phenomenon in a supposedly very strongly patrilineal system. Second, it is applied to any outsider who takes a wife from among the villagers. This usage is, in the writer's opinion, of the utmost significance. It says, in effect, that an outsider who marries a village girl is an in-law to everyone in the village, or, to the whole village as a collectivity of individuals. Either way it is phrased, it implies that the village as a unit is conceived of, or at least symbolized, as a single kin group. Of course, from the point of view of genealogy alone, this extended use of *jede* is a perfectly logical projection from minimal lineage, through maximal lineage, to encompass the entire Core Group, which, by reason of universal descent from one man is, actually, a single superlineage. As a matter of fact, ego does not call *jede* the husbands of his *maximal* lineage mates. This is another indication of the present-day conceptual weakness of the maximal lineages, a matter which can be readily accounted for (see Chap. 9).

One set of data on kinship terminology remains to be discussed. These are the reciprocal uses of *baabe* (cf. "daddy") and *maame* (cf. "mummy"). Within the immediate family, grown sons and daughters address their parents by these terms as well as the more formal *baypi* and *'ameti*. In their turn, the parents reciprocate these terms in addressing their children, so that before one becomes accustomed to the practice, one is regularly startled to hear a mother address her son as *maame*. Reciprocation of the formal parental terms is much less common. Parents also use, of course, the formal terms for son and daughter in addressing their children. Davies, in fact, says that actually fathers do not address their daughters as *baabe* at all (1949, p. 231), but this usage was heard in Munşil. There is undoubtedly considerable individual variation in this practice. Davies says that there is a similar reciprocation of avunculate terms between aunts, uncles, and their nieces and nephews. The present writer has no evidence, one way or the other, of this usage in Munşil. Davies does not mention, however, a practice which does occur in Munşil, viz: the reciprocal use of *jiddi* and *sitti* (cf., in this context, "grandchild" and "grandma") between grandparents and grandchildren. The terms *hafiid* (grandson) and *hafiidat* (granddaughter) are referential and are never used in direct address.

These familiar and familial usages are striking in that they seem to do violence to the facts of generation and sexual statuses. The phrase "seem to do violence" is

Santiago, Argentina; dated Oct. 22nd, 1904. 642/186

"... I have previously written you that my aunt wants me to marry her daughter, Miriana. I see that this is a good match. She is nice and well educated, and I don't believe there is any better girl back in our village. But your consent is my primary concern, and I beg of you not to deny me this request, for Miriana is a gem ..." [532]

7. From three sons to their father, N. R. Nejjar, back home; Burraga, Australia, dated Dec. 22nd, 1905. 642/186 573

"... Two weeks ago, we sent you a check for 50 pounds. ... Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as if we were the masters and you the follower. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you. ... Write us as father and master, who orders his servants to do their duty towards him. ..."

8. From M. Saqkis to his relative I. T. Elias; Cleveland, Ohio; dated March 20th, 1913.

"... Please forgive the manner in which I wrote you last, doubting your honesty in handling money I sent you for my mother and the family. It was all the fault of my sister who sent me false news and made me write to you as I did. I know now that she was after her selfish

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B.T. [illegible] G,5-6 (as date) 1942
MEI Lebanon MEI

friends. May God never bless such a minister. . . ."

9. From H. to his relative, I. T. Elias; Fenna., August 6th, 1914.

" . . . I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. . . . Don't pay much attention to the newspapers cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our jealous and mean people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. . . . Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. . . ."

10. From S. M. Halaibel (middle aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Elias, U. S. A., April 3rd, 1913.

" . . . The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then prevented him from sailing to America, as I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. . . . He is gone now, and his child is the only one left for me. Please pay

p64 (B)

D:Tamuna G,S-5 (no date) 1940
1921 Lebanon 1921

attention to the child and his mother; give them all they need, until I come back. . . ."

11. From M. T. Elias to his wife; Argentina, Feb. 2nd, 1920.

" . . . Within two months, our son Selim will leave for home, so as to get married in the village and bring back all of you with him. Come with him to this country which is our new home and which gives us honey and milk. . . . Bring with you the following: (1) three fig seedlings (2) two grapevine seedlings 3) one red and one white hawthorne seedling (4) hindbane seeds (5) some "Arak" (local drink) (6) some olive oil. . . . Forget all about our property in the village. Let our relatives take care of it. Upon your arrival here, you will see that we own as much land as the whole village of Rishmiyeen. . . ." (Subsequently, the whole family left, father, mother, three sons and three daughters.)

12. From S. Najjar to her relative; Iowa, Argentina, March 7th, 1923.

" . . . I shall send you enough money to buy back all the pieces of land that used to belong to my late husband. You know I am not making of this a business affair for profit. I am doing this only because I want to keep alive the memory of my husband and ancestors who used to own that land. I want our son to inherit the land. . . ."

The Village Organization Is Shaken And New Adjustments Are Attempted

Analysis of the above mentioned tables, cases and letter extracts seem

head of the family, and her cash gave her prestige.

In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. Jeha ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deek look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

6. *The parent-child status relationship is broken down:* Not only did the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corres-

p.72(B)

• 595 ponding shift in the parent-child
SS status relationship took place. Again,
178 confusion in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 6, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

621 7. *Other indications of disorganization:* Case 1 shows how the cooperative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

p. 73(4)

the households are of moderate size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

United in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Khanaiil maintain a basically egalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is much of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Khanaiil, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These subsidiary inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 50 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the workers in each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Marounites and they come to al-Khanaiil in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are mentioned at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Khanaiil and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Ishmeili (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Khanaiil only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.* The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Location. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Khanaiil has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Khanaiil.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

*Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified directions, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents as the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the *kinship group*. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

Parents, after the birth of their first son, cease to be addressed by their given names. They are now addressed by the name of their son, as the father or the mother of so-and-so. On the other hand, the members of the younger generation, until they are married, are referred to and introduced as the children of so-and-so, of such-and-such a family.

An outstanding characteristic of this rural family organization is that, with minor exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon, the woman occupies a relatively high status. Moslem or Christian, she does not submit to the veil, nor does she suffer from undue segregation. In the majority of cases, boys and girls attend the same village school. Whenever both men and women do farm work, we find, as a general rule, that division of labor prevails, with the lighter tasks assigned to women. In many villages of the mountain region, an increasing proportion of women do not do any farm work at all, applying themselves completely to homemaking. Some fifty years ago the doors of higher education were opened to the village women of Lebanon. Since then they have played an increasingly important role in national leadership and development as teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and enlightened homemakers.

Recreational activity, to one degree or another, is characteristic of many rural societies. This seems to be an essential need, biologically and socially, of human group life. By this means the group gives spontaneous expression, in symbolic form, to the fundamental values of its life and to its aspirations. The rural society of Lebanon is outstanding in this respect, having developed a rich recreational heritage that is well known in the Arabic-speaking world. Some aspects of this heritage have been carried to, and kept alive in, foreign countries by Lebanese emigrants. The Lebanese farmer is characterized by a well-developed sense of humor and a lively tendency to indulge in pranks. He loves to compose folk poetry and sing folk songs, when alone working in his fields or when in the company of friends. From his early childhood he learns to be a good folk dancer. At the same time his community life is characterized by an abundance of recreational expression.

Occasions for community festivities and group-play activity